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WHAT HAPPENED AT

THE COMMUNIST CONVENTION?

A. J. MUSTE and other Observers

In this Issue-

A. J. MUSTE, with strong support from Norman Thomas, presented to officers of the Communist Party the idea of having at the C.P. convention in New York non-Communist observers who would be free afterward to report and comment on the proceedings. The proposal was accepted. Among those who took part in the project were Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker; Stringfellow Barr, well known educator; Lyle Tatum of the American Friends Service Committee staff; Alfred Hassler of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Roy Finch and Bayard Rustin.

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INDEPENDENCE, BUT . . .

ON MARCH 6th, the Gold Coast will become the first free Dominion within the British Empire to be governed by Africans. As a symbol of its new status, the Gold Coast has dug deeply into African history and come up with a new name. Henceforth it will be called Ghana to honor the Gha culture and empire that flourished along Africa's West Coast a thousand years before Europeans came there to enslave its inhabitants.

In many parts of Africa March 6th will be a day of great celebration. Ghana has shown Africa how to win independence. After long campaigns of non-violent civil disobedience and years of disciplined sacrifice, the people of Ghana saw their leader, Kwame Nkrumah, leave jail one day to become Prime Minister within a matter of hours. Now, after a few years of continued struggle, independence has come and black Africa will celebrate.

The mere presence of Ghana embassies in French, Belgian, British and Portuguese colonies will be a devastating challenge to white supremacy in Africa. Undoubtedly information that hitherto has been concealed from the world will now be revealed.

But for Africa, and especially for Ghana, March 6th should be more than a day of celebration. The people of Ghana should stop to look about them. They should see that Liberia and Ethiopia, the two areas of Africa South of the Sahara controlled by Africans, are neither just nor free. Both Liberia and Ethiopia are pawns, economically controlled and manipulated, the one by American rubber interests; the other by British mining interests. Each is a hotbed of racial and political discrimination. Even slavery continues in Ethiopia. In neither nation is there freedom of press or of speech.

On March 6th, the people of Ghana should ask themselves some serious questions:

Can the people of Ghana maintain the best of their own African traditions and culture? Or will they, in their efforts to compete with the West, deny their own spirit and heritage? Can they reject the gross materialism, the false Christianity and economic individualism that have produced in the West frustrated masses and savage nation-states?

Can the people of Ghana seek a decentralized economy that will preserve their freedom? Or will they establish an economy so dependent on foreign whims and forces that

their so-called independence will be undermined by economic imperialism?

Can the people of Ghana who won their freedom by non-violent means defend it in the same way? Or will they repeat the tragic mistake of India by creating an army? Will the people insist that the government remain free of military alliances? If Ghana commits itself to one of the blocs in the East-West power struggle, it will squander its resources in war preparations rather than meet the desperate needs of the people for land, education, housing and medical care.

Will tribal groups submerge their rivalry and avoid the kind of internal strife that led to rioting between religious groups when India obtained her freedom in 1947, and that has left India the bitter heritage of the Pakistan and Kashmir disputes?

These are some of the questions the people of Ghana must face up to. Independence Day for six million Africans is a day that will change the history of the entire continent. As John Gunther said in his book, *Inside Africa*, "the Gold Coast is the pacemaker for African nationalism, and as it goes, so may much of the rest of the continent go in time."

THE CRIME OF PUNISHMENT

ONE OF New Jersey's wealthiest businessmen is heading a commission of inquiry into conditions at the New Jersey State Home for Boys. Senator Malcolm Forbes, of *Forbes Magazine*, *Nation's Business*, etc., is chairing committee hearings on "the cause of recent mass escapes from the home and reports of brutality."

We were not surprised, therefore, to read the following testimony which was released to the press by the committee:

The members of the staff . . . know that corporal punishment is against the rules and I am confident that (the superintendent) is doing his very best to enforce these rules. (William B. Harding, president of the board of private citizens that sets policy for the Home.)

We were struck, however, by one poignant sentence that seemed rather out of keeping with the rest of the newspaper report:

Harding said the Institution had become a "dumping ground for the casualties of society between the ages of 8 and 16".

Prisons are often justified as necessary evils. How else would we deal with the "criminal element", who

would otherwise run amok—robbing, raping, and killing? The answer is that criminals are developed, not born, and prisons play a major role in developing them.

Vast discrepancies in wealth, power, security, and social prestige will always breed disrespect for law among some of those who are not in a position to exploit their fellows legally. The law in its democratic equality permits the poor as well as the rich to buy Cadillacs, to vacation in Florida, and to keep up with their bills. Some of those who cannot own a factory will rob a bank.

The New Jersey commission of inquiry would protect the "relatively normal adolescents" by transferring the "mental cases and deviates" to other institutions. But any "normal adolescent" will develop a well of bitterness and frustration under penal confinement and when deprived of family love, *no matter who his companions are*. Sexual deviates and mentally unbalanced personalities will be created by the conditions faster than they can be detected and transferred to other institutions. If a boy lacks an understanding family, putting him in prison is not an answer to his needs. It is on a level with cutting off a man's arm because he has already lost a leg.

It's a fairly safe bet that no "hardened criminal" became that way without undergoing at least a few years of character development in the institutions that purportedly protect society from—hardened criminals. The younger a person is when incarcerated, the more time there is for the prisons to accomplish their deadly work. Eight years old seems about par for the course.

When we meet these 8-16 year olds in some dark alley ten years from now, will we remember how they have spent the intervening years? Will we clamor for more prisons and police to protect us? If one of them stabs a girl or kidnaps a baby, will we take a share of the blame? Or will we join in the self-righteous outcry?

U.S. Government studies of the Hutterian Communities in North and South Dakota, with a total population of over 5000 members, made the amazing discovery that these communities have absolutely no incidence of crime, mental illness, or alcoholism. Communal economics and the psychological solidarity that goes with it appear to be the solution to the inseparable evils of injustice and crime. Meanwhile prisons sustain the prevailing inequalities and turn dissidents into dangerous criminals.

**AN
OBSERVER
REPORTS
ON**



THE COMMUNIST CONVENTION

ROY FINCH

THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY, for the first time in its history, is beginning to declare its independence of Moscow. That this was the outcome of the Communist Party Convention held in New York last month, is the opinion of several editors of *LIBERATION*, who were permitted to attend the sessions of the convention as non-Communist observers, along with representatives of civil liberties, educational and religious groups.

It is a long way from the first stirrings of independence to full independence. The American Communist Party is so far only making the first stirrings. It did not go very far. For example, it did not condemn the Soviet action in Hungary. In fact, it did not discuss the Hungarian question at all. Such a discussion would have revealed the full depths of the differences which now divide the Party.

What then were the signs that there is even a beginning of real independence and not merely another tactical shift? I asked a member of the Communist National Committee what would have happened if the Hungarian question *had* been discussed. He told me that in his opinion more than half the delegates would have refused to support the action of Russia in Hungary.

The American Communist Party is badly split. The split goes deep and it will not be healed easily or quickly. Within the old framework there is a limit to what changes can be made. It has been precisely the character of twentieth century left-wing political groups, with their quasi-religious faiths, that, like churches, they cannot be basically reformed; they can only be split. It is only when basic points of doctrine are thrown

open for discussion that a genuine metamorphosis becomes possible.

The convention voted for discussion to continue, discussion which must inevitably touch upon points of doctrine. This was specifically recognized in a resolution which approved the "interpretation" of Marxism-Leninism. Neither the old-line Stalin supporters nor the new liberal group are to be driven out of the Party. Events alone will determine whether the age of faith is really ending.

Party Conflict

THE OLD LINE was certainly not accepted. The American Communists did not support their former chairman, William Z. Foster, leader of the old-guard. On point after point they refused to follow his advice. When he asked them to accept the instructions sent from France by the leader of the French Communist Party, Jacques Duclos, as they had done in 1945, they refused to obey.

It is significant also that no new officers were elected. One delegate explained it this way: "The reason we are not electing a new national chairman and secretary at this convention is that there are no leaders around whom we could unite now." This indicates the dimensions of the disagreements.

It was apparent to the observers that the liberal strength was concentrated in the New York and California delegations while other sections of the country tended to be more old-line. John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker* and leader of the liberal group, advocated turning the Communist Party into a Political

Action Association. Another delegate from the *Daily Worker* stated that if a referendum were taken, one-fourth of the New York membership (which makes up half of the national membership) would support such a change.

There was an important vote in connection with this question, one not reported in the newspapers. The old guard asked that the convention *reject* the idea of making the Communist Party into a Political Action Association. The convention delegates voted instead to say only that they *opposed* it, indicating by this that the door is still open for such a change. Gates stated publicly that he intends to go on advocating it. "We will come to see that it will be necessary," he said.

The Khrushchev revelations about the criminality of Stalin and the Russian action in Hungary have been a serious blow to Communists. One delegate said that there had been a loss of 20 per cent of the membership in his district in the past year. Although the official figures for the national membership are still given as around 20,000, some reports have it that the total national figure is now nearer 5,000.

Who were the people who attended the convention? As reported on the floor of the convention, there were 298 delegates from 25 states. 54 of these were Negroes, a relatively high percentage. The age grouping showed 42 delegates under 35 and all the rest over 35. Two-thirds of the delegates were listed as having been in the Party more than 15 years, 72 of these for more than 25 years. There were 50 men and women present who at one time or another have been prosecuted under the Smith Act.

What kind of a Party do they want now? Delegates speaking from the floor used such expressions as "We want to reestablish the honor of this party." They spoke of trying to get "full legality", of basing themselves on American traditions and of trying to find a peaceful, constitutional way to socialism. They said they wanted to overcome the "isolation" of the Communist Party, and to find ways of relating it to American life.

Non-Communists and anti-Communists will rightly be skeptical of such professions. Many years of mistrust between Communists and liberal and radical groups will not be overcome merely on a verbal level. Labor and liberal organizations have been inoculated against "popular fronts." That tactic will not work again. Those who were thinking more clearly at this convention realized that more than a "tactical turn" is needed now.

Convention Failures

PROBABLY NO ACTION would have dramatized a really basic change better than a clear stand against Soviet brutality in Hungary. This stand the

convention failed to take. One delegate asked what had happened to her resolution on Hungary. She was told that it had been sent to a sub-committee. Nothing further was heard of it.

Also on the negative side was the failure to attack the very evils in Russia which were attacked in the United States. American militarism and hydrogen bomb experiments were denounced, but nothing was said against Russian militarism and Russian hydrogen bomb experiments. American violations of civil liberties were indicted, but not violations of civil liberties in Russia. So rapidly have events moved in the last year that such one-sidedness, even among Communists, seems embarrassingly myopic, and old fashioned.

A Democratic Discussion

VERY DEFINITE positive factors did exist. One was the conduct of the convention itself, which was run in a democratic way, so far as observers could judge. There was no evidence of questions being rigged or of steam-roller tactics. Everyone who wanted to speak had an opportunity. One delegate declared with satisfaction: "There is something new in this party; we are having a democratic discussion."

The character of the self-criticism was also important. Delegate after delegate rose to say that the American Communist Party has been dogmatic, arrogant, and narrow. Steve Nelson, a leader of the Gates wing, declared that such narrowness or "left sectarianism" has characterized the Party from the time it was organized. He gave as an example of past absurdities a statement once made by William Foster to the effect that what is needed is a Communist America "backed up by the Red Army." Nelson said that the Communist Party has been falsely crying wolf for years, predicting imminent economic collapse and fascism every few years. "We are paying for the mistakes we made," he said.

Another delegate declared: "It took two years in jail for me to see how far away I had gotten from non-Party people." Another said: "Historical events have made it possible to kill dogmatism and bureaucracy in the Party. There is an encrusted sectarianism against which we have scarcely begun to struggle."

The demand for democracy within the Party was overwhelming. Eugene Dennis, former party secretary, summed it up: "There is emphatic agreement on the paramount importance of democratizing the party and guaranteeing the minority the right to dissent." In the jargon of Communism what were abandoned were the old shibboleths of "democratic centralism" and "monolithic unity" which have been guiding principles ever since the Party was founded. "Majority rule with specific provision for the right to dissent after decision" is the new formula. It remains to be seen whether the Party can make this transformation, or whether it will sink back into its old behavior patterns.

A New Humility

ONE OF the most important resolutions called for cooperation with liberal political and labor groups. The Party admitted that in the past it had practiced such cooperation with the purpose of destroying the other groups. This time, it says, it proposes *genuine* cooperation. The tone of the resolution is new. For example, it says: "We must learn to disagree in a new way. We must not take the position that we have all the answers and have nothing to learn. This includes all questions, theoretical, political and organizational." However it works out, this is a new note of humility for Communists.

Another crucial change is the Party's decision to support civil liberties for all, rather than just for itself. In the past, the Party has not spoken out, for example, when the civil liberties of Trotskyites or pacifists were violated. Now it says that it will defend the civil liberties even of some of its enemies. It even pledges itself to preserve and extend the Bill of Rights. This particular pledge is not likely to carry much weight until it is coupled with a similar concern for civil liberties in Russia, China and the countries of Eastern Europe. Without this latter step the American people are scarcely likely to think of American Communists as staunch defenders of the Bill of Rights.

This is not to say that there has not been some mild criticism of the Soviet Union, although little if any appeared in the conference resolutions. Nevertheless, the *Daily Worker* has criticized, for example, anti-Semitic remarks made by Khrushchev. This must be regarded as a beginning which may lead to more fundamental reappraisals.

In repudiating its old leadership, the Party set up a new election procedure which moves in the direction of decentralization. Two-thirds of the National Committee will in the future be elected, not at some central place, but by state and district conventions. The apportionment of these locally elected members (20 out of 40 members) shows the relative strengths of the Party in different areas: New York: 11 members; California: 5; Illinois: 4; 2 each for New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, and the South; and 1 each for New England, Western Pennsylvania, Maryland, Indiana, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Minnesota and the Dakotas, Oregon, Rocky Mountain area, Washington and Idaho.

My Conclusions

WHAT CONCLUSIONS can be drawn from the convention? Two paramount ones. The first is that the American Communist Party has been greatly weakened by the events of recent years, but not destroyed. Its organization is intact and functioning, and it still has resources of men, money and ideas. The very fact

that under present conditions 300 people from all over the country could gather for this convention is a demonstration of strength. They were people willing, to a considerable extent, to expose themselves.

The second conclusion is that recent events and the American people have administered a very severe lesson to Communists. The discussion at this convention showed the Party's awareness of the unreality and falseness of much of its past behavior. The Party failed most miserably in not anticipating the strength and value of democratic ideas.

In a sense now the Communist Party is being dragged along by events—particularly by the revelations about Stalin and by happenings in Eastern Europe. It will take time for genuine liberalization. But the world is moving very fast. For American Communists it may be a question of too little and too late. They missed the historic moment to condemn the Soviet action in Hungary and thus demonstrate clear-cut independence. A party which aspires to leadership could not afford to fail this test. Whatever else happens, this omission is likely to arise to plague it in years to come.

The MIDDLE CLASS STRUGGLE

The delegates to the Communist Party convention would have disappointed the average American citizen greatly. There were no tails and no horns. William Z. Foster, strong man of the Party, has the carriage and manners of an Anglican bishop. John Gates, tense and intellectual as he urged the Party to take on a new look, might well have been a professor at a Midwestern college advocating final exams without proctors.

In fact, the delegates looked and acted like a cross section of the American middle class. As they gathered, an observer remarked that they seemed like a cross between members of a Rotary Club and a Quaker seminar. In some quarters it will be reassuring to know that only a few delegates had calloused hands. The working class, though often referred to in the deliberations, was scarcely in evidence.

EQUALITY before the LAW

One afternoon the Communist Party convention was picketed by more than fifty Hungarians. Their signs indicated that most of them were refugees. Soon after the picketing began, a Negro approached the entrance to the convention hall. A woman picket began to scream: "Stop the dirty nigger Communist." As the Negro hurried towards the entrance, shouts of "get the nigger" rang out along the picket line. A man carrying a large black flag on a thick pole lunged at the Negro, narrowly missing him with the pole. As the enraged man wheeled to repeat the attack, the Negro managed to slip into the hall. When he was safe inside he pointed out to the police lieutenant in charge that he was an official non-Communist observer. He questioned the lieutenant about the failure of the police to provide protection for those entering the hall. The lieutenant was extremely apologetic. "I'm sorry," he said. "The officers thought you were a Communist."

The Convention

and DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

A. J. MUSTE

THERE ARE SEVERAL angles from which an analysis of the meaning of the recent convention of the Communist Party of the United States could be approached. This article deals with what seems to me the most important and urgent question: what bearing does the Convention and its aftermath have on the possibility of developing in this country a movement for the achievement of what for convenience I shall call democratic socialism?

Only in the most rudimentary sense does such a movement exist in the United States today. The various parties and tendencies that stem from the labor, socialist and libertarian traditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century have all been reduced to splinters.

This does not mean that democratic socialism is no longer needed or that it is dead. It is apparent that there are many people in this country who do not think that the American economy has achieved stability and immunity to crises and who are troubled by the increasing concentration of economic power in private hands; by bureaucratic control of the unions; by the heavy trend to conformity and persistent violations of civil liberties; by the prevalence of racism; by the threat of American militarism and the nuclear arms race. There are people who do not believe that these and other problems are going to be solved within the context of capitalism Model 1957 or by the parties that dominate the political scene today. They are people who would like to recover the vision of a fraternal society and be able to hope that, with the resources mankind now has available, such a society might be achieved.

How, in these circumstances, shall we try to build a democratic socialist movement in this land? It is necessary to answer that question before we can estimate to what extent the C.P. convention may have contributed to socialist progress. The chief need is for a radically new orientation on the part of the groups and individuals that consider themselves part of the left, and a consequent new morale. We have passed through a period when each party or group regarded itself as having a monopoly of essential socialist truth. All that was necessary was that enough people should recognize this and join them. Each group lived in its own house.

From time to time it laid off some of the help and shut off part of the house as the membership drained away. Members seldom went out of the house and when they passed people from the other houses on the street they did not talk to them—even about the weather. For even the weather might have political connotations and talking with others was regarded as treason and sure to result in contamination. In the end all these groups were almost completely isolated not only from each other but from the workers and from the American people generally. They are by now reduced to something close to political impotence.

Emasculation of the Left

OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS in the U.S. are of course to a large extent responsible for the emasculation of radical movements. No one who is aware of the impact these conditions have had on every form of dissent will be disposed to think that, if only the Communist Party had not existed, we should now have a powerful democratic socialist movement. This is not to say that the C.P. has not been grievously at fault, dogma-bound and sectarian, as the recent Convention set forth in considerable detail. At this historic juncture, no group that still claims to have the answers, to be "the true church", can make a creative contribution to building a democratic socialist movement.

Secondly, only parties or groups that not only permit but encourage and make provision for serious internal discussion can contribute to the kind of fresh and basic searching that needs to take place. Needless to say, there can be no such internal freedom in any group that is organizationally or ideologically under the domination of an outside party or government, and the C.P. by its own admission has been at least ideologically subordinated to the C.P. of the U.S.S.R. In the nature of things, in such a group the "truth" is handed down and power resides in whoever is the mailman for the foreign agency. Those who try to build a democratic socialist movement here must not only themselves be part of the American scene and of the American people, but also must address themselves as free and responsible human beings to the problems of this nation.

Lest this statement be misunderstood, let me em-

phasize that this does not mean that I am advocating a parochial or nationalistic outlook. Socialist and Communist parties alike have tended in recent times toward a national outlook and emphasis, in contrast to the idealistic and dynamic internationalism of the early socialist movement. Recent and current Communist "internationalism" is, of course, a phoney. It represents an attempt to impose Russian nationalism from above and without, which inevitably results in the stimulation



of resistance and the danger that undesirable forms of nationalism may crop up in other countries. Genuine internationalism demands that socialists approach the problems of their own countries with an international outlook, a concern for humanity, not with a fixation on either their own or some foreign nation.

The Splinter Problem

ONE OTHER POINT seems to me to be involved if eventually an effective democratic socialist movement is to be developed. Namely, that this will not come about by taking two or more of the present splinters and tying them together with a rope, as it were. Every attempt of this kind will, after an initial burst of hope, result, I am convinced, in a stultifying feeling that everything is as it was before, as seems to be true already of the recent merger of the American Socialist Party and a segment of the Social Democratic Federation. There is even less chance for success in the present period (whatever may have been the case at other times) in the tactic of one group's trying to liquidate another, either by infiltration or by slam-bang attack from without. The result would be that each group would be left smaller, weaker, and more isolated. Something much deeper and more organic than either of these approaches is needed now: a re-thinking of what democratic socialism means in the U.S.A. in the atomic age and an unfettered exploration of the means by which a movement for democratic socialism can be brought about. All elements concerned about responsible political behavior who are prepared for serious discussion, i.e., for seeking answers, rather than laying down the already

established correct line, should be involved in such discussion.

No Recantation

IF WE NOW TRY to evaluate the recent C.P. convention and the present situation of the Party in the light of the above considerations, it seems to me that the verdict is, on the whole, positive. That is to say, the possibility exists that at least considerable sections of this Party, which hitherto has certainly not stood for democratic socialism, will contribute to the kind of discussion that should now take place. This calculation has to be based in part on imagining what would have happened at such a C.P. convention in the past. Such a convention would not have been preceded by any such open and vigorous discussion, including severe criticism of Russian policy, as took place this time. But, in any event, once the convention assembled there would have been a directive either directly from Moscow or via the French Communist leader Jacques Duclos, and once this directive was made known everybody who had taken the other side would have hastened to confess his error and become the most ardent advocate of the revealed truth. The truth having been revealed, there would have been no further need of discussion, except as to how the infallible directive might be most meticulously and ruthlessly, so far as individuals go, carried out. Nothing of the sort happened at the recent convention. Moscow and Duclos did lay down the line on several matters, such as the primacy of the Soviet C.P. and the Soviet policy in Hungary, and the convention by a majority of two-thirds or better refused to conform.

The failure of the Party to make a clear statement on the Hungarian events is most deplorable. But even here it must be noted there was no recantation by John Gates and others of the criticisms they had made in the *Daily Worker*, though in effect demands for recantation were made from Moscow and by Duclos and Foster. This is, of course, unprecedented in C.P. history. The non-Communist "observers" who attended the convention can testify that it was democratically conducted and that obviously no individual or group was in a position to impose his or its will on the body.

For the purposes of this article and having the limitations of space in mind, it will be most helpful simply to mention, pretty much as they occur in the Resolutions on *Social Democracy and the Communists* and on *The Road to Socialism*, positions taken by the convention.

It is firmly stated that the old C.P. policy "to smash all Social Democratic organizations as a condition to win the masses to socialism" was evil and mistaken.

The "united front from below"—using united action for "the liquidation of Social Democratic organizations"—is renounced.

"The characterization of Social Democracy as social fascism" is declared to have been disastrous.

As for today, "we should look upon the Social Democratic organizations, including their elected leaders, as workers' organizations. *We must deal with these organizations fraternally and not as enemies.*" Such figures as David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers and A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are specifically named in this context.

The way is opened for criticism of the foreign policy of Russia and other Communist countries in the call to abandon "our idealistic, uncritical attitudes towards the lands of socialism" for a "more mature and critical support" of their achievements.

The C.P. no longer claims a monopoly of "socialism" or "radicalism" or even Marxism; and the need of a new political alignment, to which the C.P. may contribute, is set forth in the summons to "promote the movement for a broader, united Marxist party in this country."

Discussion with other groups should include "all questions, theoretical, political, organizational". Another resolution specifically asserts the right of C.P.U.S.A. to "interpret" Marxism-Leninism, not merely "adapt" it to American conditions. Even "where differences remain, we must learn to disagree in a new way."

Finally, the resolution is explicit on the commitment of the Party and its members to participation in discussion on "the road to advancing socialist unity." It advocates "extending the process of frank exchange and discussion that has been taking place in the past year, clarifying ideological questions and insuring that our Party at all levels increasingly participate in this process."

From Profession to Practice

I AM NOT, and do not want to appear, over-optimistic. There are a good many theoretical questions, which we do not have space to deal with here, on which the convention reached no satisfactory position. Even as to these, the tendency was not simply to fall into the old clichés but to emphasize that the questions need further study.

So much for the record on paper. What does it mean in terms of solid political reality? For example, the question naturally arises whether people who have so long been in the habit—on their own admission—of acting in a sectarian, opportunist and authoritarian fashion can change their ways. There are those in the Party, of course, who do not want to. And those who say they do must submit as other men to the test of the fruits they produce, rather than the professions they make.

To illustrate, a good deal was said by the convention about violations of civil liberties that occurred under Stalinism, the need of Communists in the U.S. to adhere to the spirit of the Bill of Rights, and a new attitude toward "reformists" and Social Democrats. There are those who are skeptical about the honesty of such noble utterances and regard them as a cover for infiltrating into unions and other groups in order to carry out the old tactic of smashing or disintegrating them. But, if the C.P. were to take vigorous action about Social Democrats who may still be imprisoned in Communist lands or deprived of their right to engage in advocacy of their views, there would be the kind of evidence of a changed attitude before which skepticism would have to yield.

The position that not a few tend to take, however, namely, that it is inconceivable that genuine political and moral changes can occur in members or staunch adherents of the C.P.—or that there is *no* evidence of any such change unless they walk out of the Party—seems to me unrealistic. Some of those who take this position are most ecstatic in their salutes to "the freedom fighters" of Hungary. But in large measure these people were Communists. A year ago the extreme skeptics, had they been in Hungary or Poland, would have lumped these Hungarian writers, students and workers—and their counterparts in Poland—into one category with Joseph Stalin, and would have warned against having any hopes of, or commerce with, such vermin. I cannot imagine that the skeptics—insofar as they are honest—would in retrospect be happy over having taken such a stand.

Of certain other types of "skeptics", the New York Post (editorial of February 14) aptly, in our opinion, observed that "too many men in politics and journalism have acquired a vested interest in exaggerating the domestic Communist movement" and therefore tend to interpret all developments in the Communist world as simply "the mask for brilliant Communist strategy." The Post makes another pertinent observation, namely, that what has happened, in "human terms", is that a few people who had "dedicated their lives to the false gods of Russian Communism" have "belatedly" taken steps "toward the sunlight of freedom . . . Surely it is madness for free men to minimize the news."

The fact is that Communists and the Communist Party cannot recreate or repeat the past, even if they would, because the objective situation simply is not what it was in the pre-World War II days. Adherence to monolithic Stalinism may be attempted but it cannot produce the results of an earlier period. Besides, Communists cannot bring the past back to life because they have themselves, under the impact of objective conditions which we have discussed at intervals during the past

year in LIBERATION, helped to set in motion forces they are unable to control arbitrarily. To quote the New York Post once more, apropos of the ferment throughout the Communist world: "Children learning to walk soon lose their zest for crawling; Communists who today glimpse the process of thinking for themselves may tomorrow think far bolder thoughts than those so far unfolded." It is symptomatic and symbolic that on the



very day these words are written, at a meeting in Moscow staged for the purpose of honoring Bulgarian Communists who follow the Moscow line closely and thus taking a slap at Tito, Khrushchev himself praised Gomulka, the Polish Communist leader, and declared that the Soviet Union is doing its utmost to see that Poland "develops as an equal and independent state."

Let Discussion Go On

THE ESSENTIAL FACT seems to me to be that the C.P. convention demonstrated that the ferment in the C.P. is real and that it continues. Organizationally—and especially during the weeks until the additional two thirds of the National Committee (40 members) are elected—this must create a difficult situation for the Party. But that is their problem, not ours.

Meanwhile, responsible political behavior on the part of non-Communists seems to involve welcoming the fact that the ferment continues, and reacting positively, though critically, to it. This is all the more the case because there is only one viable policy for those in the C.P. who have backed such positions as we have endorsed in this article, and that is to *act upon them in the most vigorous fashion*. If the stand pat course that William Z. Foster appears to advocate in fact prevails, whatever the outward appearance of "liberalization" or "progressivism" in the Party, it will soon find itself in an impenetrable isolation in comparison with which what Communists have experienced in recent

years will seem like the freedom of lambs in a spring meadow.

As for ourselves, we wish to continue to discuss the future of democratic socialism with all who are seriously interested in this goal, and we will continue to defend the civil liberties of Communists, whether we agree with them or not.

For those who are impatient for action, let it be said that, if we actually succeed in drawing substantially all elements into unity for serious discussion, this in itself will constitute a political act. Any large scale joint action for specific objectives will be stalled anyway, until this happens. In view of the sad experiences of the past there will be no joint action until there is agreement on certain fundamentals—such as a genuine attachment to democracy—and until there is a new morale, i.e., trust in each other's integrity.

The CHALLENGE of MONTGOMERY

When the 300-odd delegates to the Communist Party convention gathered, observers were immediately struck by the large number of Negroes and young women. About 17 per cent of the delegates were Negroes. Despite the Party's catastrophic mistakes on the Negro question, it is somehow still able to attract Negroes. When one observer argued that almost any interracial group dedicated to social or economic betterment can attract a large number of Negroes, he was asked to name a few that have had comparable success. He is still thinking....

With few exceptions the more articulate Negroes in the convention stood with William Z. Foster to fight for the old order. John Gates had little support from the Negro rank and file. Yet the most far-reaching demands for exploration of new methods came from a New York Negro delegate, who complained to a hushed convention that "we talk about Marx and Lenin, but we have got to study Gandhi also. What the Negroes are doing in Montgomery is not Marxian, it is Gandhian. It does not spring from the organized labor movement. It springs from the Negro's organized religion—the Church. When are we going to substitute new thoughts for old slogans?"

A Negro woman delegate called upon the convention in God's name "to study the principles of the worker, Jesus Christ, to see what He had to say about revolution" and social change at a time when "the Negroes of the South under Rev. Martin Luther King are marching to freedom in Jesus' name."

A WORKER- FARMER- NEGRO PARTY?

I. Arnold Kamiat



IN AND OUT of the pages of **LIBERATION** one sees and hears of the importance of organizing a new party to be composed of workers, farmers and Negroes. The reasons given always lie in the realm of politics and economics. Among them is this: that workers, farmers and Negroes, constituting, as they do, the exploited classes, have no interest in the perpetuation of the present social order and should therefore embark upon the task of building a new one.

This proves, alas, that liberals and radicals still refuse to recognize certain psychological realities. They have not yet broken away from the stereotyped, traditional approach to social questions—one that assumes them to be purely or primarily economic or political in character.

Not that the reality of psychological processes is denied by liberals and radicals. Rather, as happens so often when the reality of anything is taken for granted, there is an uncritical acceptance of unexamined stereotypes. In this instance the stereotypes are, first, that every physically adult person is psychologically mature, psychological maturation being conceived as something that takes place "naturally" and as a matter of course; and second, that a subject class, being composed of psychologically mature persons and being possessed of an interest in the building of a new world, is competent to perform that task.

These stereotypes are false. Psychological maturation does not take place as a matter of course. In our competitive, exploitative and authoritarian world it usually does not take place at all; most men and women remain ethically and intellectually stunted all their lives. This is true of the members of all classes, upper and middle

as well as lower. Hence the tragic fact must be noted that a subject class is of necessity composed in the main of ethically and intellectually immature persons and is therefore not competent to build a new world.

New Social Order—Same Old World

TRUE ENOUGH, a subject class in revolt can set up new social institutions, a new social order. *But this is not the same thing as building a new world.* This requires not only new institutions, *but also a new spirit.*

What happens when a subject class in revolt sets up a new social system is that the latter gives expression to the spirit of the overthrown system. The new institutions simply reflect the authoritarianism, competitiveness, intolerance, power-lust, cruelty, violence and homicidal passions of the new masters. As a result, the true idealist, the ethically and intellectually mature person, finds himself just as much out of place in the post-revolutionary world as in the pre-revolutionary one. He may even be worse off. The idealist who, in the pre-revolutionary world lived on campuses, in libraries, in factories, in laboratories, in art studios, in offices, on farms, may, in the post-revolutionary world, be living in a concentration camp or resting in a grave.

A subject class cannot build a new world. This is a task for men and women of *every* class who are dedicated to the proposition that material wealth and political power must be relegated to the category of lesser values. It is a task for men and women of every class whose lives are dedicated to the pursuit of greater values: the values called ethical, intellectual, aesthetic and religious. They, and they only, can endow a new social order with a new spirit.

The apprehension of this truth has been made difficult by the curious assumption dominating the thinking of many liberals and radicals. This is the assumption that membership in a given class as such confers upon one the virtues needed to make one a competent builder of a new world. Thus, being a worker, or a farmer, or a Negro is supposed to endow one with the necessary qualifications. There are feminists who say that being a woman is the necessary condition. It is truly remarkable that such an unrealistic assumption should find acceptance among intelligent persons. Being a farmer, worker, a Negro or a woman works no magic. It is no guarantee of intelligence, understanding, competence or ethical or intellectual maturity. Having an interest in the establishment of a new and better world is not the same thing as having competence. There are, of course, workers, farmers, Negroes and women who possess the necessary competence and ethical and intellectual maturity, as there are also middle and upper class people, whites and males who do. It is very important to draw the line in the right place. It is to be drawn, not between workers and farmers on the one hand, and middle and upper class people on the other, or between Negroes and whites, or between men and women. It is to be drawn between those whose lives are dedicated to the creation and appreciation of ethical, aesthetic, intellectual, or religious values on the one hand, and those who place emphasis on economic wealth and political and military values on the other.

Citizens, Yes; Guests, No

IT IS PART of my definition of a better world that it is one that I have helped build. A world that I have not helped mould, a world built for me by others, would be for me a symbol of my degradation, be the virtues of it what they may. I therefore do not want a better world brought to me on a golden platter by the workers, the farmers, the middle class, the Negroes, the Anglo-Saxons, the Christians, the women, the scientists, the engineers, or any other class. In such a world, I would feel, not like a citizen, but like a guest.

I am not the only one who feels this way. Others share this feeling. This attitude represents a psychological reality. Those who favor the founding of a worker-farmer-Negro party are not taking it into account. The formation of such a party would alienate many middle and upper class people and many whites who might otherwise be disposed to build a new and better social order. They want to participate in the task of building it. This is the answer to those who say that a worker-farmer-Negro party would invite everybody who believes in a better world to join. People do not want to be invited; they do not wish to occupy the status of guest.

BUT WHY a party? To capture the government and the state, of course. But are parties, states and governments the only instruments available for the construction of a new world? Are they even essential? Is not this dependence on them itself a sign of the failure to outgrow the power-seeking spirit of the old world? Is it really necessary to endure the tortuous, wearying political process, with its campaigns, its hyper-emotionalism, its group delusions, its vast expenditures of energy and money, its nurture of rivalry, prejudice, bitterness and hate? Are there no other instrumentalities available to those who wish to build a new world?

There are such instrumentalities. There is, for instance, the cooperative movement. This is important, for consumer and producer cooperatives are the civilized alternative to competitive industry and government ownership. Cooperatives transcend group lines: people of all classes, races, nationalities, parties, religious denominations and both sexes make up their membership. Further, the cooperative idea is capable of extension to other than industrial and mercantile enterprises. We need cooperative schools, libraries, laboratories, hospitals, art galleries, theaters, opera houses, orchestras, and so on.

A New Religion

THERE IS yet another world-building instrumentality that may soon come into being, and this is the most effectual of all: a new religion. Religion can function as a genuine revolutionary force. It can exact sacrifices as perhaps nothing else can. It can impel men and women to transcend all group lines and practice democracy and brotherhood. It can effectually call on men and women to abandon anachronistic customs, institutions and social systems. It can lift men and women to the greatest heights. The time may very well be propitious for a new religion, with a new philosophy and a new vision.

2. Mulford Sibley

MR. KAMIAT stresses three significant points:

(1) "psychological maturity" as the test for capacity to create a "better world"; (2) a question as to the necessity and utility of "politics" in the creation of that world; and (3) the existence of alleged substitutes for "politics."

With each of his major statements I find myself in partial agreement. At the same time, I cannot accept them with his apparent enthusiasm; for their validity is limited by certain other equally important considerations.

Autonomy and Organization

HE IS RIGHT, of course, in emphasizing the necessity for the development of personal autonomy or "maturity" if we are to have a genuinely new world. Slaves cannot create such a world, no matter what their class status. And most of mankind, whatever their present class position may be, are still enslaved to compulsions, prejudices, irrational habits, and the force of mere custom and tradition. The rational man of highly developed moral sensitivity is still rare.

At the same time, it does not follow that, in the creation of the new world, we can dispense with the organization of parties consisting primarily of people whose material interests tend to unite them. The immediate interests of such parties, it is true, may not be wholly compatible with the long-run common interests of mankind; but the recognition of immediate binding ties—as among farmers, workers, and Negroes—may be, and often is, the first step which leads men to more comprehensive views. The development of the new society requires not only autonomous personalities but also organization for the social implementation of goals. And organization, to be effective, requires some homogeneity of immediate interests, in addition to that "spirit" for which Mr. Kamiat pleads.

Moreover, while there is nothing inevitable about the process, the thrusting of responsibility on relatively "non-mature" persons can help in the development of that very autonomy which all of us seek. Indeed, mere abstract "education" for "maturity" is never enough, as both John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx maintained. The individual must be placed in group and organized situations in which his potentiality for freedom and "maturity" can be evoked; and political activity provides exactly such a context.

At this point I should like to emphasize the importance of *both* external organization *and* personal "maturity" or autonomy. Rightly understood, they can complement and support each other. There is a tendency today for some radicals, in revolt against a former accent on mere organization, to stress the development of the "inner life" so much that they seem to give an inferior reality status to the external world: the "inner world," they appear to say, is "basic" while the world of groups, parties, and organization is not fundamental. This I deny. The development of rationality and ethical sensitivity is as dependent on external group relations, forms, and procedures as the characteristics of these relations, forms, and procedures are reflective of the struggles and triumphs of the inner life.

MR. KAMIAT'S SECOND POINT, in which he seems to question the desirability of "politics" as a method of radical change, calls attention to an important issue. If radical politics is to get lost in a morass

of sloganizing and appeals to irrelevancies (and such tends to be the character of American national politics today), then it might as well close up shop. Too often in the past has the so-called Left forgotten its ideals in pursuit of what its pamphleteers have called the "conquest of power." The very notion of "conquest of power", with its warlike overtones, should be foreign to radical politics. Parties should be tentative groupings, one of whose primary functions would be to provoke the debate out of which would emerge a general consensus and an increasingly comprehensive consciousness of the common interest or "justice."

At the same time, it must be admitted that for a long period in the future the political process will probably be overcast by irrationality and will tend to have many of the characteristics which Mr. Kamiat finds so distasteful. Under such circumstances, radical politics will never be entirely immune from the general tendency. Political action is impure, but so is all action, including the action known as inaction. As in personal moral decisions, the line of demarcation between the permissible and non-permissible must be drawn at some point unless we are to abdicate our responsibilities as human beings. Whatever action we take, however, will have consequences for good or ill; and no action we take in politics will be wholly devoid of evil.

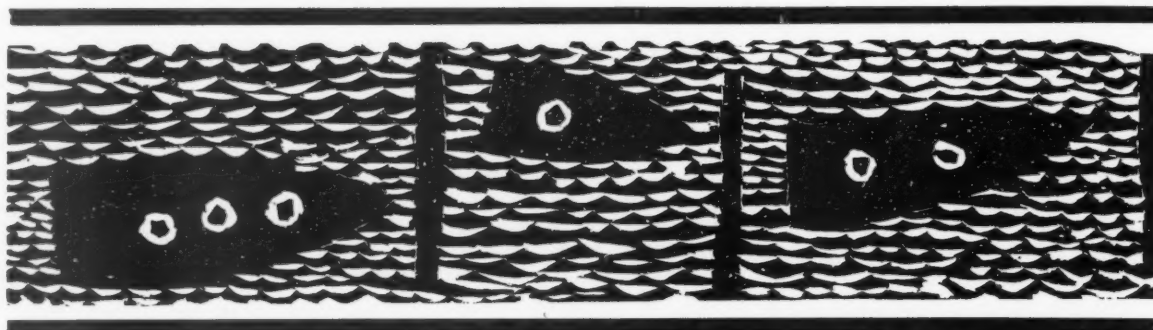
Cooperatives Subject to Some Limitations

MR. KAMIAT'S THIRD PROPOSITION is that instrumentalities other than "parties, states, and governments" already exist for the creation of the new world. He instances the co-operative movement and the probability of a "new religion." The co-operative movement does indeed have potentialities as yet untapped. But co-operatives are themselves subject to all the reservations which Mr. Kamiat and I have about "politics." Indeed, in the process of organizing and developing co-operatives one finds oneself confronted by dilemmas and issues identical with those which Mr. Kamiat discerns in "parties and governments." In both, the tendency to oligarchy is ever-present and in both "co-operative" and "power" relations co-exist. In both, men tend often to be manipulated for private ends and in both the original spirit tends to be transformed while the external form may continue. We do not escape the ingredients of the political process by re-christening it: wherever complex human organization exists, there one will find politics.

As for a new religion, Mr. Kamiat's failure to specify what it would be makes extended comment impossible. However, since one of its emphases would apparently be a call to brotherhood, I can only remind Mr. Kamiat that we have had the New Testament for some two millennia and that despite this fact he and I are still discussing how to achieve a community based on the brotherhood of man.

The

PANAMA CANAL: AMERICA'S SUEZ



WILLIAM NEUMANN

EGYPT'S SEIZURE of the Suez Canal reminded Americans that they too hold a waterway passing through the territory of a foreign nation. Panamanian nationalism has a historic fund of resentments against the powerful owners of the Canal. And the U.S. Government considers the trans-Isthmian passage essential for American naval might since the fleet would be forced to travel almost 8,000 additional miles between the two oceans by the time-consuming Cape Horn route if the Canal were to be closed. Does the United States have a future Suez situation in the offing or are the parallels only superficial ones?

The Panama Canal Zone, like the Suez, was wrenched away from a weaker people. In the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain in 1850 the United States agreed neither to fortify nor to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over any future canal. A half century later, American nationalism and power had grown to the point at which the idea of sharing control over the waterway in the western hemisphere was repugnant to this country's political leaders. If Britain would not agree to abrogation of the old treaty, Theodore Roosevelt was ready to tear it up on his own. "I do not admit the 'dead hand' of the treaty-making power in the past," he wrote in a statement which might evoke Nasser's enthusiastic affirmation. But Britain was willing to pay a good price for American cooperation in other parts of the world, and a new treaty in 1901 gave the United States exclusive control over the future canal. Even this treaty had to be rewritten before ratification, since the U.S. Senate objected to the provision that the canal would be "open, in time of war as in time of peace, to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations." The phrase, "in time of war as in time of peace," taken from the Suez convention of 1888, was deleted.

A "Fortuitous" Rebellion

THE TERRITORY finally selected for the American canal was held by Colombia and acquiring rights to it proved a difficult problem. The Colombian Senate was reluctant to release such a valuable piece of real estate and unanimously rejected a treaty with the United States which offered a mere \$10 million. A canal through Nicaragua was considered as an alternative, but Roosevelt was determined to have the Isthmus even if he had to take unilateral action in occupying it. A "fortuitous" event saved Roosevelt from such action; the outbreak of a revolution in 1903 in the Isthmus and the establishment of the independent state of Panama. The role of the United States in promoting such a revolution is a matter of historical dispute, but Washington waived any delay in recognizing the new claimants to the area. American naval forces landed and prevented Colombian troops from quelling the local rebellion. A treaty was quickly negotiated with the new nation, and the United States had its rights to the canal route. Colombian bitterness over American action was deep and lasting. Qualms of conscience finally led to a Congressional appropriation of \$25 million to Colombia in 1921 when Theodore Roosevelt was no longer alive to protest what he had considered blackmail by the "cut-throats of Bogota."

The treaty obtained from America's protege—or offspring—was most generous. For \$10 million Panama submitted to being made an American protectorate and granted the United States "the use, occupation and control" of a ten mile strip "in perpetuity." Panama resigned any claim to "sovereign rights, power or authority" in this zone as well as in any additional lands needed for the canal. American control over this waterway thus began as a permanent relationship compared

to the ninety-nine year lease given to the Suez Canal Company by Egypt which was to expire in 1959.

The history of Panamanian-American relations, like those of Britain and Egypt, has been marked by interventions and friction. In 1936 Franklin Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor" policy responded to the demands of Panamanian nationalism by negotiating a new treaty. Panama was granted at least nominal independence by the formal termination of the protectorate. Rights to the use of lands outside the Canal Zone itself were relinquished, and the inflationary effects of American departure from the gold standard were met by raising the annual rental paid Panama from \$250 thousand to \$430 thousand.

Solid Gold Americans

PANAMANIANs RESENTED the discrimination in pay to the "gold men", the white American employees, over the dark-skinned "silver men" of Panama. A carpenter would receive over three times the hourly pay of another carpenter if he was fortunate enough to be an American citizen. The discrimination extended to other areas, and there were "gold schools" and even drinking fountains marked for "gold" personnel only. This combination of nationalism and racialism kept anti-Americanism alive and in 1940 resulted in the election of a president, Arnulfo Arias, who was charged by the U.S. with being sympathetic to the Rome-Berlin Axis. American military authorities felt that new air and army bases outside of the Canal Zone itself were essential for defense in World War II, but could reach no agreement with the Panamanian government. When the situation was deadlocked Arias was deposed by a coup d'état in October of 1941. The charges of American intervention in this change of regime were serious enough to draw Secretary of State Cordell Hull into vigorous denials.

The new Panamanian regime agreed to lease the United States more than a hundred bases to be evacuated within one year after a definitive treaty of peace had brought the war to an end. With the collapse of Germany and Japan in 1945, Panama began to agitate for the removal of the foreign troops which were creating the usual complications in their relations with the local population. The United States, claiming the existence of a Soviet threat to the canal, was unwilling to leave and held to the literal interpretation that no "definitive peace" had been signed. This conflict of views became a bitter one; anti-Americanism was intensified and exploited by the Communists throughout Latin America, who charged the United States with imperialist ambitions in Panama. A serious crisis was developing when to the surprise of the Communists—and to many Americans as well—the Department of State and the Pentagon backed down. In 1948 American forces withdrew

and turned over the bases to their owners and in some cases to the Panamanian government, a gift of millions of dollars in buildings and improvements. But the Panamanian economy slumped drastically when the disappearance of the foreign soldier ended the influx of American dollars.

Panama's finances have remained unstable, and in the resulting political turbulence Arnulfo Arias was returned to the presidency in 1949. He held office for two stormy years and was deposed for the second time by a revolt in 1951. The United States stepped in to help Panama's financial situation with a new treaty in 1955 which upped the annual rental paid for the Canal Zone to almost \$2 million. (Panama asked for \$5 million in the negotiations). The wage differentials between "gold" and "silver" personnel were finally substantially ended. Because of the protests of Panamanian businessmen against unfair competition the American commissaries were closed to non-Americans. These changes have only led to new complaints. Fewer Panamanians are being hired in the Zone under the new salary levels, and those who are hired find that the loss of commissary privileges has nullified the salary raises. A would-be Nasser still would find a great deal of anti-American feeling to be whipped up for political purposes.

The Realities of Practical Democracy

WHILE AN ANTI-AMERICAN political movement is a possibility, ousting the United States from control of the Zone is an unreal objective. Larger rental fees may remain a popular slogan, but if Panamanians have any ambitions to run the canal themselves they are only whispered. No political group with an anti-American program has a chance of retaining power in the face of the many ways in which the United States could exert hostile pressures. A quasi-Communist regime in Guatemala, three countries and some thousand miles removed from the Canal Zone, was considered a great enough threat to American security to bring about indirect but effective action to drive it from power in 1954. A Panamanian Nasser would have so many rivals for power that without a large army—and Panama has none—he would be quickly overthrown by a flow of American arms to his opposition.

The likelihood that the Suez situation will move the United States to relinquish exclusive control of the Canal also seems remote. Even the application of the neutralization rules of the Constantinople Convention of 1888 for the Suez, embodied in the British-American treaty of 1901, has been loosely interpreted. The statement that "there shall be no discrimination against any nation" has not included the Soviet Union. With the closure of the Suez there has been a movement of Soviet cargo vessels to Panama. According to American press reports these ships are placed under special guard during

their passage and denied navigational charts for use in the Caribbean. The United States may have as little moral justification for the exclusive control of its international waterway as did Britain or France—or as does Egypt today—but barring a collapse of American power and nationalism the Panama Canal is not likely to come under the control of either Panama or the United States.

The Benefits of being Raped

AN OBJECTIVE EVALUATION must call attention to certain other aspects of the situation in Panama. A half century of American overlordship has not guided Panama to a representative and stable government. But this end has not been achieved by the mother country either; Colombia is at present in the grip of a military dictatorship which must wage constant warfare against hinterland guerillas. The Panamanian peasant is, however, far better off, materially, than his Colombian or Central American counterpart.

American dollars in lease money plus sales of Panama's products to canal users have been an important supplement to the export of bananas and other agricultural products. Without an army to support, the percentage of Panama's national budget devoted to education is the largest in Latin America. As a result Panama's some 800,000 people send over sixty percent of their children of school age to get an elementary education as compared to approximately thirty percent in Colombia and twenty percent in Honduras. Only Argentina exceeds Panama in the number of teachers per primary school-age child. In literacy, life expectancy and per capita income Panama stands far higher than its neighbors.

However, to advance such phenomena as a justification of imperialism, as official propaganda often undertakes to do, is unjustified. American policy as a whole is not to be judged in the light of "gifts" and incidental benefits it may bestow on a small country whose land was seized in order to serve American military strategy. Fundamentally, imperialism, like nationalism, is a curse.

The Politics of the English Language

1. In our time, political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible. Things like the continuance of British rule in India, the Russian purges and deportations, the dropping of the atom bombs on Japan, can indeed be defended, but only by arguments which are too brutal for most people to face, and which do not square with the professed aims of political parties. Thus political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenceless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification*. Millions of peasants are robbed of their farms and sent trudging along the roads with no more than they can carry: this is called *transfer of population* or *rectification of frontiers*. People are imprisoned for years without trial, or shot in the back of the neck or sent to die of scurvy in Arctic lumber camps: this is called *elimination of unreliable elements*. Such phraseology is needed if one wants to name things without calling up mental pictures of them. Consider for instance some comfortable English professor defending Russian totalitarianism. He cannot say outright, "I believe in killing off your opponents when you can get good results

by doing so." Probably, therefore, he will say something like this:

While freely conceding that the Soviet regime exhibits certain features which the humanitarian may be inclined to deplore, we must, I think, agree that a certain curtailment of the right to political opposition is an unavoidable concomitant of transitional periods, and that the rigors which the Russian people have been called upon to undergo have been amply justified in the sphere of concrete achievement.

GEORGE ORWELL

2. Three questions hang upon recent events. May it not be that we must run the risk of war to save peace and freedom, and perhaps even to save Poland in the future from Hungary's fate? If we keep on saying that we shall use all means short of war to stop the aggression of Communist dictators, does not this directly encourage them to further moves? If the West is not prepared in the interest of peace to risk war, then what is the only alternative to isolation and surrender, except war at a time, place and manner chosen by the Kremlin?

SIDNEY HOOK in the New York Times Book Review

PURE FOOD and PURE FRAUD



ROYAL LEE

1955 WAS the fiftieth anniversary of the federal Food and Drug Administration, which was brought into existence largely through a 23-year battle by its first chief, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley. Dr. Wiley, now long dead, has been honored by a special commemorative stamp.

In the midst of public praise for Wiley's pioneering, and public thanksgiving over the (supposed) fact that foods, drugs and cosmetics are pure and truly labelled, we are likely to overlook the way in which Wiley's work has been perverted. We may remain ignorant of the way in which the FDA protects the food, drug and cosmetic industries, and the medical monopoly, at the expense of the public it is supposed to serve. We may forget that Wiley himself was ousted for trying to stand up against these powerful interests.

In 1929, in *The History of a Crime Against the Food Law*, Wiley wrote up the story of the colossal crookedness in the Washington scene which had resulted in his ouster and the victory of the makers of counterfeit foods, drugs and drinks. He told how the Coca-Cola Company had for years defied a federal Supreme Court decision banning its product from interstate commerce, and how the FDA had done nothing about it. He told how the FDA had re-interpreted another Supreme Court decision, against the bleaching of flour, into its exact opposite, and thus enabled the powerful milling interests to go on selling bleached flour. He told how the makers of artificial whisky had got the official approval of the FDA to label as "whisky" their counterfeit mixture of alcohol and colored water. He called this ruling "the most astonishing exhibition of illegality ever perpetrated... Not only was every decision of the courts violated by this order, but President Taft's specific directions for labeling were also disregarded... The dikes that held the swelling floods of adulterations and misbranding of our beverages were broken down and waves of food adulterations swept over and devastated the country."

White becomes Black

WILEY had no intimation of how the FDA would get laws passed to twist the word "food" so as to make it mean "drug", and thus turn white into black.

In Wiley's day, there was no confusion about the meaning of a food or a drug. Drugs were *poisons*, used only by licensed medical doctors, supplied on prescription by registered pharmacists, both licenses being essential by reason of the dangerous nature of poisons in general and drugs in particular. In *The History of a Crime*, Wiley contrasts the effect of a food and that of a drug. The lethal dose of a drug is a quantity specific for each drug, the normal dose none; the lethal dose of a food is none, the normal dose a quantity specific for each food. In Wiley's day, the official definition of a drug was that it must be a poison.

Nowadays a drug is anything used to treat disease, anything used to prevent disease and anything (except a "device") used to *diagnose* disease. Dr. Elmer Nelson, Chief of the Division of Nutrition of the FDA, said in a recent article that what determines the question of when a food becomes a drug is the intended use—that foods become drugs if they are used to cure, mitigate or prevent disease. Thus, according to the FDA, the only true food is a synthetic or processed food unfit to promote life. And really true, health-building foods are often rated as "drugs."

How does this twisted definition work? It serves (1) to drive off the market genuine whole foods which contain health-building vitamins and minerals, and (2) to eliminate the competition of drugless doctors. Those who gain are the powerfully organized drug companies, the manufacturers of refined and synthetic foods, and the medical monopolists who seek to control all of the healing arts.

A drugless doctor who sets up a food schedule to improve the chances of recovery of any starving or deficient patient may be charged with the "illegal practice

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of medicine," since he is administering a "drug." This is a very clear way to eliminate all drugless doctors. Many states (Minnesota in particular) have followed the lead of the FDA and are actually classifying as "drugs" all whole natural foods sold as "health foods." They require them to be sold by registered pharmacists, thus driving independent "health food" dealers out of existence.

Food dealers are not supposed to educate the public about the correlation between good food and good health: as the Pure Food laws are interpreted by the Federal District Court of Southern California, it is illegal for any seller of foods to loan or give to his customers *The National Malnutrition*, by Daniel T. Quigley, M.D., *You Can Live Longer Than You Think*, by Daniel C. Munro, M.D., or similar books. In Wisconsin and other states you must have a prescription from a medical doctor before you can buy natural, unpasteurized cow's milk—another "drug." It is no wonder that the *Drug Trade News* recently called the Pure Food and Drug Laws "the Magna Carta of the modern drug industry."

The same perverted reasoning which makes pure foods "drugs," and therefore unavailable to the general public, makes drugs "foods," to be forced upon the public. The campaign to fluoridate drinking water is a fine example of this reworking of scientific definitions and facts.

"Harmless" Poisons

IN THE *Journal of the American Dental Association* (April 1936, p. 574) will be found proof that fluorine compounds are not essential to the health or integrity of the teeth. According to this *ADA Journal*, fluorine in water causes poisonous effects at dilutions of one in a million. Later authorities hold that it can be toxic in amounts fifteen times as dilute. Under the principle established by Wiley, fluorine could not legally be put into any food or drink in any amount, however small. Wiley said that poisons are poisons in any dilution—they act to destroy life in the proportions in which they are used, just like emery powder in a ball bearing. There can be no "harmless" dosage.

The FDA should forbid the use of such poisons. But instead, we find it lined up with the ADA, the AMA, and the U.S. Public Health Service to force fluoridation down our throats. According to these new prophets of public health, poisons in small doses may be used up to the point where they start to have visible toxic effects. Unfortunately, by that time the damage is already done.

To take a poisonous drug voluntarily—believing that in one's particular case, the beneficial effects will outweigh the harmful ones—is one thing. To force others to take it as part of their drinking water is a totalitarian invasion of the privacy of their bodies. Moreover, re-

liance on fluorine tends to obscure and prevent treatment of the underlying causes of dental caries. As Weston A. Price and many others have shown, tooth decay is primarily a disease of civilization, and is virtually unknown among peoples with well-rounded diets of whole natural foods.

Eat, drink, & be Underfed

THE "PURE" FOOD we eat, with the blessing of the FDA, is at least as questionable as medicated drinking water. Under the FDA's "newspeak" definition of terms, the only food products which are not potentially "drugs" are the refined, synthetic and counterfeit "death foods" which load the shelves of our supermarkets. By comparison with the damage they do, the adulterated and mislabelled foods and drugs which the FDA does crack down on are relatively harmless.

All refined and synthetic foods are illegal under a seldom-heard-of federal law which imposes a fine of up to \$5,000 for removal from any food of any essential nutrient component. But, to my knowledge, that law has never been invoked against anyone. If the FDA were doing its job under this law, it could stop the sale of 95% of the "foods" in our markets.

The apologists for the death foods say that there is no evidence that diseases are the result of malnutrition. For them, proof requires a controlled experiment on a few hundred human subjects. They assert that no animal tests are to be accepted because of the difference or reaction in different species. We would all object to such human experimentation. But the evidence we do have from comparative studies of nutrition among different peoples indicates that if we could perform such human experiments, they would demonstrate just what the animal tests show: the pitiful inadequacy of our official protection against impure and counterfeit foods.

If the practical man finds that diseases are far less frequent where there is less use of counterfeit foods, that is proof enough. If animals become predisposed to cancer from eating refined food, I myself do not want any. When I find that heart disease and arthritis are practically non-existent in China (where the typical diet of soybean curd, fresh vegetables and occasional fish or meat is meagre, but still better-rounded than ours), I want to know why those two diseases top the list here. When I find the nutritionist Sir Robert McGarrison reporting that in eleven years of medical practice among the "healthy Hunzas" of the Himalayas, known for their natural diet and their vitality, he saw not a single case of cancer and hardly any disease of any kind, I want to know why we are falling apart and dropping dead from degenerative diseases to which such people are almost immune. The semantic jugglery behind the interpretation of the pure food laws is, I think, one of the biggest reasons.

This Crime Pays Well

BECAUSE so much money is spent on the advertising of counterfeit foods and drinks, it is hard for most people to realize how their health is being undermined by the food they eat, with the approval of the Food and Drug Administration. It is hard for them to accept the colossal picture of dishonesty to be traced once we look behind the scenes into this matter of counterfeit foods. No newspaper or magazine dares to refuse to cooperate in the vicious racket which exchanges human life for profits. Even such relatively conscientious journals as the *Saturday Evening Post*, which refuses advertisements for alcoholic drinks, accepts one that lies about the effects of refined sugar, that tries to tell us that the calories of sugar are different, and do not "fatten."

Many people are deceived by longevity statistics into believing that we Americans are healthy and long-lived. It is true that modern medicine has increased our life expectancy at birth by reducing infant mortality and death from infectious diseases. But meanwhile, all the degenerative diseases are increasing, and are attacking at ever earlier ages. Sudden deaths from heart disease, for example, are no longer rare in the 30's, even in the 20's. When we have become victims of cancer, polio, heart disease, diabetes or arthritis caused by nutritional deficiency, it is then too late to act. If we fail to act now, we must pay the price. That price is about twenty years off our lives.

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Letters . . .

Elizabeth Quigley is one of 18 pacifists arrested last July for refusing to take part in the nation-wide "civil defense" drill. All 18 were found guilty and were ordered to spend five days in jail or pay a \$25.00 fine. Thirteen, including Mrs. Quigley, refused to pay the fine.

Agawam, Mass.

Dear Editors:

I still have not recovered from "that Friday" and hope I never do. Coming home on the train Friday night, I felt that a new concern had been born out of twenty-four hours' experience, and that concern was for a radical alteration of our penal system. I confess now to going into the thing most naively, but even so the whole experience was one of the most shocking I have ever known. I came home feeling as if I had been raped—physically, mentally, and spiritually. The assault on my body was of primary concern because of the other life it houses and because of the complete innocence of that other life. I was subjected to the curiosity of three doctors and innumerable attendants, with the result that as of four in the afternoon I was considered in labor and was being measured for Bellevue. My relief at seeing A. J. (A. J. Muste, who brought the money to pay Mrs. Quigley's bail.) cannot be expressed.

Quite apart from the subjective angle of the thing, I was appalled by conditions which are probably well known to you: the lack of constructive measures for rehabilitation, the lumping together of inmates with no regard for the possible harm that might come to young first offenders through association, the total lack of regard for human dignity. I had read much on prison experience, but perhaps it is necessary to be a part of it—even if only for a day—to feel and appreciate the hopelessness and the futility of this kind of existence. Having been closely associated with seven other women for the brief period, my only regret on leaving was that I could not take all seven with me; that for most of them there was no defense committee and no easy out.

At any rate, for a day or two I hovered on the brink of somewhat premature birth and then calmed down. The doctor here examined me and seems to think everything is all right. I did have to go to bed on Monday and stay there for a week, however, as a result of exposure and inadequate covering during my stay.

It wouldn't be fair to go on at such length without giving bouquets where they are due. There were individuals who were kind and considerate—and to be kind in such a situation is immeasurably more valuable than in situations where kindness is expected.

Elizabeth Quigley

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